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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

4 December 1951

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NID-49: SWEDEN'S POSITION IN
THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

THE PROBLEM

To assess Sweden's strategic importance; to analyze Sweden's present attitudes and policies toward East and West; and to estimate the consequences of its position.

DISCUSSION

I. THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SWEDEN

Defense

- A. What strategic considerations flow from Sweden's geographic position, with reference to the Baltic Sea and its approaches? To the northern flank of Europe? To Norway? To Finland? To air routes? Its terrain and communications?

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- State B. What strategic considerations flow from Sweden's economic resources and weaknesses? Its mining, steel, engineering, munitions, aircraft, and ship-building industries? Its labor force? Its lack of coal and petroleum products?
- OSI, coordi- C. What strategic considerations flow from Sweden's nating with scientific research and development establishments? Defense
- Defense D. What strategic considerations flow from Sweden's armed forces and military installations? How large and how effective are the Swedish army, navy, and air force? What is the importance of Sweden's military installations and facilities?

State II. PRESENT SWEDISH POLICY WITH REFERENCE TO THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

- A. What is Sweden's basic foreign policy and what factors lie behind it? To what extent does it enjoy popular support? What is the position of the political parties?
- B. What is Sweden's attitude toward the USSR and what factors lie behind it? Is there a basic hostility toward the USSR, and what is its character and extent? Is there any

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difference in the attitude of the government, public opinion, and the armed forces? Are Swedes susceptible to Soviet political and psychological pressure? What are the chances that they would yield to Soviet economic pressure? To military threat?

- C. In what circumstances, if any, might Sweden cooperate militarily with the USSR? Would it resolutely resist Soviet armed attack?
- D. What is Sweden's attitude toward the European Satellites, and what factors lie behind it?
- E. What is Sweden's attitude toward the US and its Western Allies, and what factors lie behind it? What are Sweden's economic relations with the Western Powers? Do Swedes believe that, even if they continued to remain outside the NATO, the West would come to Sweden's aid in event of a Soviet attack? Do they believe that the West could effectively aid Sweden in event of such attack? To what extent is Sweden susceptible to Western pressure for greater cooperation? Is there any difference in the attitude of the government, public opinion, and the armed forces on any of these questions?

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- F. In what circumstances, if any, might Sweden join the NATO or, at least, cooperate in Western military planning? What would be the effect on Sweden's attitude of the addition of Germany to the NATO? Soviet assumption of control over Finland? Substantial growth of Western military strength? Need for military equipment? A Soviet attack on a NATO member?
- G. Is there any discernible trend in Swedish foreign policy toward closer relations with the West?
- H. To what extent does Swedish policy influence the policy of Denmark, Norway, and Finland?

III. THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES TO THE WEST OF SWEDEN'S POSITION

A. During the Cold War.

Defense

1. Does non-adherence to the NATO impair Sweden's defense capabilities? Is Sweden maintaining armed forces commensurate with its resources? Is Western aid in terms of military supplies essential?

State and OSI

2. To what extent are Sweden's strategic industries producing for the benefit of the Soviet Bloc? For the

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benefit of the West? To what extent can Sweden be counted on to continue cooperation with the West with respect to strategic trade questions? How do Sweden's scientific research and development capabilities benefit the Soviet Bloc and the West?

Defense and
State

3. Would Sweden's adherence to the NATO, prior to possible hostilities, produce important military benefits for the West? Might it provoke reprisals by the Soviet Bloc against Sweden? Might it raise a threat to Finland's independence? Might it increase East-West tension?

State and
Defense

B. In Event of General War.

1. If Sweden desired, and were permitted to remain neutral by the warring Powers, what would be the character of its neutrality? What would be the advantages and disadvantages to the USSR and the West of preserving Swedish neutrality? Considering Sweden's geographic position and economic requirements, would it be obliged to be benevolently neutral toward the USSR? Would Western military operations be seriously hampered, and those of the Soviets facilitated by a neutral Sweden? What would be the Swedish

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reaction to the overflight of belligerent aircraft?
Would respect of Swedish neutrality seriously complicate Soviet attacks on Norway and Denmark? How would the approaches to the Baltic Sea be affected? The northern flank of Europe? Air routes and other communications? What would Sweden's value be for intelligence purposes?

2. Could the USSR force the Swedes to join or capitulate to them without a direct attack? If not, would they be likely to respect Swedish neutrality or would they use military force against Sweden? If so, would consequent Soviet domination of the Baltic Sea and the northern European flank critically affect the main battle in Europe? Would Swedish forces conceivably fight against the Western Powers? Would Swedish industry contribute significantly to the Soviet war economy? Would there be an important resistance and sabotage movement in Sweden? Could the Soviet Bloc supply Sweden with adequate quantities of needed primary products?
3. What are the possibilities of Sweden's voluntarily entering the war on the side of the West? Under what

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circumstances might such a decision be made? What would be the military and economic consequences of such a decision?

4. Assuming that the USSR attacked Sweden, how effective would Swedish resistance be, and what would be the consequences on the course of the war? Could Sweden's military effort affect the main battle in Europe favorably for the West? Would it draw off Soviet forces otherwise employed elsewhere? Would Sweden's military facilities be of use to the NATO forces? Would Sweden be an effective buffer for Norway? Would they possibly attempt to flee to the Western order to join "liberation" forces? Would subversive elements in Sweden be capable of achieving serious disruption? Would the Swedes continue guerrilla warfare if their organized resistance were broken?

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